

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 001449 TOSEC 250179

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C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR TEXT)

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SUBJECT:NEW YORK TIMES SULZBERGER OP-ED CRITIQUE OF U.S.
AFRICAN POLICY, SATURDAY, JANUARY 3, L976

FOR BARBIAN FROM S/PRS

1. FULL TEXT ENTITLED "WANTED U.S. AFRICA POLICY"
TEXT FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

ZAMBIA'S PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA HAS IMPECCABLE CRED-
ENTIALS AS A THIRD WORLD STATESMAN AND NOBODY CAN COMPLAIN
HE IS INSUFFICIENTLY OPPOSED TO THAT CONTEMPORARY BOGEY-
MAN, THE UNITED STATES. A MEMBER OF HIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE,
EQUIVALENT TO A "POLITBURO" IN MR. KAUNDA'S ONE-PARTY SYSTEM
RECENTLY SPOKE OUT AGAINST AMERICAN "IMPERIALISM" IN
HAVANA.

THE ZAMBIAN UNITBD NATIONS ENVOY, ACCORDING TO COMPUTER
READ-OUTS, HAS VOTED WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND AGAINST THE
UNITED STATES 92 PERCENT OF THE TIME IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
THESE VOTES INCLUDED OPPOSITION TO U.S. BASES ON GUAM
(AN ACKNOWLEDGED AMERICAN TERRITORY) AND SUPPORT FOR PUERTO
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PAGE 02 STATE 001449 TOSEC 250179

RICAN INDEPENDENCE (WHICH ONLY FIVE PERCENT OF PUERTO RICO'S

POPULATION FAVORS).

ONE CAN THEREFORE SCARCELY ACCUSE MR. KAUNDA OF BEING WASHINGTON'S STOOGE. HE HAS INSTALLED A SYSTEM OF "ONE-PARTY PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY" THAT, ON THE SURFACE, RESEMBLES MOSCOW'S POLITICAL METHODOLOGY MORE THAN

WASHINGTON'S, AND HE FERVENTLY HOPES A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM WON'T RETURN.

ALL OF THIS IS BY WAY OF EMPHASIZING THAT ZAMBIAN FEARS

CONCERNING AFRICA'S FUTURE AND THEIR PARALLELISM IN SEVERAL RESPECTS, TO AMERICAN FEARS SHOULD IN NO WAY BE LINKED WITH WASHINGTON'S SELFISH INTERESTS OR "CYNICAL" MANIPULATIONS OF THE CIA. ZAMBIA IS SIMPLY TERRIFIED OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, STARTING FROM THE ANGOLAN BASE IT IS NOW ON THE WAY TO CONSOLIDATING.

WHILE THE UNITED STATES IS HANDICAPPED BY FALTERING LEADERSHIP AND LEGISLATIVE CONFUSION, THE USSR IS PUMPING ARMAMENTS, RUSSIAN ADVISERS, AND CUBAN COMBAT TROOPS INTO THE ANGOLAN FIGHTING. AT THE SAME TIME, IT PRESSES AND CAJOLES AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS TO ACCORD DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION TO THE MPLA, MOSCOW'S CHOSEN INSTRUMENT IN ANGOLA. WASHINGTON, MEANWHILE, WAFFLES.

MR. KAUNDA SAYS: "THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR THREATENS PEACE AND SECURITY IN THIS ENTIRE REGION..AS EXTERNAL FORCES JOCKEY FOR POSITIONS TO GAIN MAXIMUM ADVANTAGE FROM THE CONFLICT." BY "EXTERNAL FORCES" HE CLEARLY MEANS THE THREAT OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM.

OFFICIALS OF HIS GOVERNMENT HAVE NO HESITATION IN MAKING AVAILABLE MAPS OF "THIS ENTIRE REGION", CAREFULLY INKED FOR EMPHASIS, AND INCLUDING, IN ADDITION TO ANGOLA: ZAMBIA, MALAWI, MOZAMBIQUE, BOTSWANA, AND WHITE-RULED SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. KAUNDA ACKNOWLEDGES THAT STH AFRICAN PRIME
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PAGE 03 STATE 001449 TOSEC 250179

MINISTER VORSTER SHOULD BE GIVEN "HIS DUE" BECAUSE "HE HAS CERTAINLY WORKED HONESTLY WITH US" IN "HELPING GET RHODESIAN (BLACK) NATIONALISTS OUT OF PRISON AND STARTING TALKS GOING AGAIN;" BUT HE STILL INSISTS ON BLACK MAJORITY RULE THERE AND IN NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA) PLUS AN END TO SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID.
ZAMBIA, A SPARSLEY POPULATED, WEAK COUNTRY IN THE CENTER OF THE MESS, FEARS DIRECT SOVIET INTERVENTION IN EVERY

PROBLEM NOW FESTERING ACROSS SOUTHERN AFRICA FROM THE ATLANTIC TO THE INDIAN OCEAN. AND UNLIKE MANY OTHER BLACK STATESMEN, MR. KAUNDA IS READY TO SPEAK OUT (DESPITE HIS REGIME'S FLABBINESS ON SOME DISTANT MORAL ISSUES OF NO DIRECT CONCERN).

ZAMBIA BORDERS EIGHT NATIONS, ZAIRE, TANZANIA, MALAWI, MOZAMBIQUE, ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA), NAMIBIA (SOUTH-WEST AFRICA) ANGOLA AND BOTSWANA. IT IS BEING SQUEEZED BY HAVING ITS COPPER EXPORTS BLOCKADED ON SEA ROUTES VIA ANGOLA OR RHODESIA, ALTHOUGH THE BRAND-NEW CHINESE-BUILT TANZAM RAILWAY IS STARTING TO CARRY SOME OF THIS TRADE TO TANZANIAN PORTS.

AS MOSCOW IMPERTURBABLY SHOVS ARMAMENTS, ADVISERS AND CUBAN TROOPS INTO ANGOLA WHILE HOLLERING "BEWARE SOUTH AFRICAN INTERVENTION" TO ALL BLACK STATES, MR.

KAUNDA SEES THE DANGER OF A SOVIET MILITARY BASE READY TO PUSH ACROSS ZAMBIA TO EVERY CHOICE TARGET ON THE SOUTHERN CONTINENT. ALMOST CERTAINLY THIS MAY RISK AN EVENTUAL WHITE-BLACK AND IDEOLOGICAL WAR, PERHAPS DESTROYING PEACE EVERYWHERE.

EVEN WITHOUT RUSSIAN INTERVENTION THROUGH AN ANGOLAN STRONGPOINT, MR. KAUNDA IS DEEPLY PESSIMISTIC. HE SAYS "PROSPECTS FOR AN INDEPENDENCE FORMULAE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL NAMIBIANS (SOUTH-WEST AFRICANS) ARE NOT BRIGHT." HE SEES ZIMBABWE (RHODESIAN) NEGOTIATIONS, NOW TOTTERING ALONG, AS "VIRTUALLY INSOLUBLE" AND PROBABLY DOOMED TO STALEMATE AND ERUPTION OF VIOLENCE.

AT THE END OF THAT TERRIBLE ROAD HE PREDICTS "IT WILL
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PAGE 04 STATE 001449 TOSEC 250179

INVOLVE RACIAL, ETHNIC AND IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS."
"IDEOLOGICAL" IS A TACTFUL REFERENCE TO EXTENDED SOVIET POLITICAL DOMINATION.

THIS IS THE WAY MANY AFRICAN LEADERS REALLY REGARD THE STORM OF POWER POLITICS SHAPING UP AND AROUND THEM. THEY ARE HELPLESS TO ACT EFFECTIVELY TO DEFEND THEIR NATIONS AGAINST WHAT BEGINS INCREASINLY TO SEEM AN INEVITABLE STORM.

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS MIGHT WELL JOIN WITH MAJORITY WORLD OPINION IN EMBARGOING PURCHASES OF RHODESIAN CHROMIUM, THEREBY EARNING AT LEAST SOME LEGITIMATE APPOROVAL OF THE BLACK NATIONS IT COURTS. THIS WOULD BE MORE USEFUL THAN MERELY SITTING PARLYZED WHILE

RUSSIA TAKES THOSE VERY NATIONS OVER, COMPLAINING IT'S NOT
OUR BUSINESS TO HELP THE WEAK PROTECT THEMSELVES. INGERSOLL

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